Added Responsibility

Reg. No. B3092

HARIJAN

16 Pages

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor: K. G. MASHRUWALA

VOL. XV. No. 52 AHMEDABAD — SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 1952 TWO ANNAS

BA

The last issue of the volume happens to be published just a day after the ninth anniversary of Kasturba Gandhi's death. By a rare coincidence the Hindu lunar and the Gregorian solar dates of her death have fallen on the same day this year. Generally, there occurs a chance for this only every nineteenth year.

Like Parvati and Shiva, and Sita and Rama, Ba and Bapu will always be spoken of and respectfully remembered together. We do not know the exact date on which Ba was born; but she breathed her last on the lap of her dear husband on the Mahashivaratri of 1943. Bapu died five years later. But what a difference had taken place within that short period! Ba had died a prisoner of the late rulers of the country. She was a prisoner without any charge against her. Many a political prisoner with less serious illness than Ba's were being released now and then on grounds of health. But not so Ba. The then Government practically killed her by a subtly violent method. Being Bapu's wife, even if she did nothing more outside than peacefully die as a free woman, it was regarded by Government as a serious risk for the safety of the British rule in India. They would not hand over even Ba's corpse to her relations. She received an unceremonious cremation in the prison-yard itself.

In less than five years following, however, the entire scene was reversed. The transformation was almost like the negative and positive films of the same picture. The British Government still existed, but not the British rule. Bapu was an enemy of the British rule, but the friend of the British Government and that Government now fully recognized it. The representative of the British King remained in India but not to rule it. Ba was killed by the rulers by subtle violence, Bapu by one of his own people by open violence. The cremation which he received was in every detail the opposite of Ba's. The Governor-General himself attended it and squatted on the sands while his body burnt.

The way in which Ba and Bapu will be remembered by generations might also be curiously reverse of each other. Ba may never receive the imposing and pompous worship which Bapu is likely to get year after year. But while Bapu will receive too much verbal and ceremonial worship, what he endeavoured to teach and bring may get increasingly forgotten. The whole world will join in organizing his worship and there might remain only a handful to follow him in spirit. But wherever Ba will live, she will live in actual life and performance. There will be no *melas*, marble or bronze statues, *chhatris* in Ba's name. But she will be giving life and health and education to the children and the women of small neglected villages of less than one thousand inhabitants through workers, who will never seek or obtain limelight and who will never exploit Ba's name. And not a lip will pay her homage which does not come from the heart. Long live BA, the true replica of Bharat Mata.

Wardha, 15-2-'52 K. G. MASHRUWALA

MY ACCOUNT

The table given elsewhere shows at a glance the progressive decline of the *Harijan* papers during the last five years and two months. On 1-12-'46 Gandhiji had placed me and three other colleagues in the temporary charge of the papers. He handed over to us an estate of more than 52,000 subscribers. When he resumed the charge in June '47, he found a balance of 34,000 only. Thus we lost nearly 33 per cent during a period of six months. The decline continued even during his direct editorship of seven more months, so that at the time of his death the estate was reduced to less than 25,000. The papers remained suspended for over three months, before I was asked again to take up the charge. The suspension cost a reduction of nearly 8,000 subscribers so that the initial estate given to me came to nearly 16,750 subscribers. Within the first year and a half I lost one-third more bringing it down to 10,864. The decline has since continued though at a slow rate. By 1-2-'52 it came to 9,000. The total loss since the time I took up the editorship has been more than 7,750 subscribers.

In all frankness and humility I must take this as a vote of displeasure of the public in my editorship. Friends and admirers wish to assure me that this is a wrong inference. It is a result of the slump in the market. This may also be a contributory cause. But the fact remains that it is an account of heavy loss.

Originally the Trustees wanted me to carry on *Harijanbandhu* alone, as they could afford to bear some loss upon it. But I was unwilling to undertake its responsibility as I did not stay in Gujarat.

This led to the decision to close down all the three.

Wardha, 14-2-'52 K. G. MASHRUWALA

CIRCULATION OF "HARIJAN" PAPERS

Table Showing the Sales of "Harijan" Papers during Different Periods

	Date	Harijan (English)	H. Bandhu (Gujarati)	H. Sevak (Hindi)	H. Sevak (Urdu)	Total
Just after the resumption of the "Harijan" Papers in February, 1946. The zenith of their popularity ..	17-3-'46	38,253	22,365	11,852	—	72,470
When Gandhiji leaves for Shrirampore giving up temporarily the charge of the "Harijan" Papers	1-12-'46	25,279	15,929	10,249	1,364	52,821
When Gandhiji resumes the charge of the weeklies by writing the editorial — "How did I begin it?" ..	8-6-'47	15,364	11,223	6,909	629	34,125
The last issue under Gandhiji's editorship ..	26-1-'48	9,969	9,441	4,861	475	24,746
At the time of the 5th issue of Vol. XII under Shri Kishorlalbhai's editorship ..	9-5-'48	6,706	6,782	3,279	—	16,767
	31-12-'49	3,789	4,491	2,584	—	10,864
	28-2-'50	3,539	4,466	2,611	—	10,616
	31-8-'50	3,283	4,132	2,437	—	9,852
	28-2-'51	3,191	4,231	2,206	—	9,628
	31-8-'51	2,953	3,917	2,208	—	9,078
	31-1-'52	2,958	3,938	2,280	—	9,176
	1-2-'52	2,840	3,890	2,270	—	9,000
Foreign ..	1-2-'52	77	114	7	—	198

JIVANJI D. DESAI

REDEEM THE OLD PLEDGE

[Addressing a large village-gathering in Malwan, District Eta on the 26th January, the Republic Day, Vinoba exhorted the people to dedicate themselves afresh for the realization in full of the old pledge which the nation took about twenty years ago and which still awaited fulfilment. The following are extracts from his post-prayer speech on the day.]

"The Lord was asleep but He woke up for Tulsidas, because Tulsidas awakened Him. This is one of His many wondrous qualities. He wakes up in an instant at the call of a true devotee. I find Him getting up wherever I go, because I call Him. In fact, He is eternally awake. The sleep is only a nominal one assumed in order to test us. He will not rise from His sleep and be active if those who are charged with the task of awakening Him continue to sleep. At the moment, it seems that it is the *sevaks* who are asleep. Constructive workers, Congressmen, K.M.P.P. all are suffering under the spell of torpor. They are all immersed in the elections, completely oblivious of everything else. Meanwhile I have been able to procure more than sixtyone thousand acres of land. In Madhavtanda, a small village, a mere hundred and twenty persons gave me twelve thousand acres. This is why I say that the Lord resides within every human heart ready to manifest Himself if only one would ask for it."

* * *

"Freedom has brought in adult franchise. Everyone has the right of vote. There is no difference of caste or sex; the poor and the unlettered have it as much as the rich and the educated. Despite all that, the country is in no way happier or more prosperous, because we have failed to fulfil many things to which we had pledged ourselves years ago.

"We had had half an hour's spinning just now. We have been doing it every day. I began spinning in 1920. In our Ashram we all spin enough for our clothing and we also weave it. Therefore the frequent fluctuations of prices in the market do not affect us in the least. If you too had acted on Gandhiji's advice in this regard, you would not have felt helplessly driven to take recourse to black-market and be a party to that type of sin and corruption. *Khadi* has not lost its importance after Swaraj. If anything, it has become even more important. We pledged ourselves to make the living conditions in the villages better. That pledge is still hanging fire and we should remind ourselves of it on this day and rededicate ourselves to its early realization.

"I would draw your attention mainly to three things. Eradication of caste-differences and the inequality which they entail, acceptance of *khadi*, and abstinance from alcoholic drinks. Drink is one of the five great sins. How can a person addicted to drink call himself either a Hindu or a Mussalman? Both of these religions have tabooed drink. But God is ever ready to admit a man to His abode if he would repent for his misdeeds, leave it off forthwith and take to the ways of right conduct. Both Hinduism and Islam are generous in this respect and they keep their doors open for the really penitent. Therefore, those of you who are addicted to this evil habit should give it up once for all."

It was reported to Vinobaji that nearly 60 per cent of the village population was given to drink habit. Vinoba would not first believe it but when he asked in the meeting whether it was correct, the people confessed to it. He was deeply moved with pain. He appealed to the people to get rid of it and explained that the enjoyment that they might derive from it was not of the genuine *anand* (bliss); if anything, it was a beastly pleasure which ill became human beings. Real pleasure lay in service.

Vinoba received one hundred acres in this small village. He has obtained altogether thirteen hundred acres in the Eta District. The Raja of Avagarh, Shri Surajpal Sinha, had a long talk today with Vinoba about the land problem in this part.

(Translated from Hindi) L. B.

VINOBAJI MARCHING TOWARDS ECONOMIC FREEDOM

(*By S. Jagannathan*)

The economic revolution of the Western countries was meant for and effected through changes in centralized big industries. In India it assumes the agrarian land problem and cottage industries as India is a land of villages. This economic freedom movement is now led by the spiritual heir of Mahatma Gandhi. The political parties have been impatient to achieve this freedom for the poor ever since the achievement of the political freedom. But Vinobaji was waiting or, more correctly, God guided him at this proper time, to lead the economic freedom movement when the nation will be just launching into the second phase of the peaceful revolution after the elections of the Free India under the new constitution. The first phase after independence was a period of preparation for the race towards economic freedom, integration of the several States, solution of the communal and its attendant refugee problems, strengthening the Government at the Centre, etc. Now Vinobaji is holding aloft the torch and marching towards the economic freedom and the nation should follow him.

Constructive workers all over feel that Pandit Jawaharlalji should give a lead to this movement and the A.I.C.C. should direct all Congressmen to take up the work of the Land-Gift-Mission. If necessary, a special session of the A.I.C.C. might be convened and Vinobaji invited to give his message on the Land-Gift-Mission. Was not Congress functioning as an instrument of Gandhiji for carrying out the great constructive programmes like Prohibition, Removal of Untouchability, *Khadi* and Village Industries? Through these constructive programmes, the Congress was contacting the masses in the villages. Whenever Congress deteriorated, Gandhiji revitalized it with new programmes. What is the position of the Congress today? It needs a tremendous effort to lift it from the fall. Vinobaji is already hinting at the purification of the Congress. "There was no programme before any party or individual which can be compared to this (the Land-Gift-Mission), and which had sowed seeds of revolution. Jawaharlalji wanted to purify the Congress, but unless you have a programme of sacrifices, purification is not possible. Even if Gandhiji were alive but unable to present any programme which implied sacrifice, the purification would have been an impossibility. But Gandhiji's beauty was that he always put forth a programme which did invite a sacrifice. The Land-Gift-Mission is undoubtedly a programme which demands sacrifice and is bound to bring a revolution which will attract the whole world" (Speech of Vinobaji, 11-10-'51). Vinobaji's programme is so magnificent that the mighty political organization, the Congress should extend its full support and active co-operation.

Nehruji feels, "our Constitution has gone too far in guaranteeing all kinds of compensations, and I think that something will have to be done about it.... If it is good for the country let us change the Constitution" (Nehruji's speech, *Hindu*, 28-12-'51). Change in the Constitution or even any legislation can be successful only when at least an intelligent majority has been converted. Gandhiji's Harijan movement prepared the field for the Constituent Assembly to declare untouchability as a punishable offence. Again his ceaseless efforts created a country-wide atmosphere in favour of prohibition and some of our States have successfully enforced prohibition through legislation. Vinobaji's Land-Gift-Mission is not confined to collecting land gifts. "I am trying to convince landowners. If they are convinced of the right of the landless people to some lands, the proper atmosphere for suitable legislation will have been created. Once the atmosphere is created, legislation on this subject can be expected to be effective, since it will have the approval of the people. Constructive workers expect that the Congress will take up this non-violent revolutionary movement of Vinobaji in right earnest immediately after the elections.

The Government have other resources to supplement the Land-Gift-Mission. The Government is already co-operating. But I submit the following proposal also. A large percentage of cultivable land lie fallow for want of planning and encouragement to the cultivator. The following is the position in Tamil Nad which will show thousands of such acres of land in every district:

Districts	Under Cultivation	Cultivable Waste	Forest
Mathurai	11,37,645	2,63,593	7,41,448
Ramnad	9,61,706	6,06,240	99,116
Tanjore	13,66,191	1,91,608	24,421
Trichy	16,50,500	2,50,000	1,75,000
Tinnevelly	9,84,897	10,97,420	3,05,406
Coimbatore	17,88,843	7,41,752	14,43,347
Salem	16,10,374	4,11,327	10,01,635
North Arcot	10,76,006	3,49,217	7,68,182
South Arcot	12,88,165	5,95,446	2,65,268
Chingleput	9,94,204	11,22,830	—
Nilgiris	38,000	64,343	3,13,484
Total	1,28,96,531	56,93,776	51,37,307

More than one third of the area of the already cultivated land is lying uncultivated (including the forest area).

The same conditions prevail in other provinces as well. These lands can be assigned to the persons who get the gift from the *Bhoodan* movement as the one acre of land, the minimum as given at present, will be inadequate for a family. Then the cultivator requires other facilities for cultivating. As Vinobaji says " Just as after we solemnize the marriage of our daughter, we give her jewellery and other gifts, similarly we should arrange for other necessities of the tiller, a pair of bullocks, seeds and other requirements." The Government can give a great impetus to the *Bhoodan* movement for the peaceful solution of this complex land problem. Constructive workers all over feel that this help must come forth spontaneously and without delay.

HARIJAN

Feb. 23 1952

ADDED RESPONSIBILITY

The readers will see elsewhere the decision of the Navajivan Trust to continue the *Harijan* papers as an experiment for a further period of six months in supersession of their previous resolution to close them. The former decision had come as a shock to the public. There was a feeling among the readers that they were done an injustice in not being given an opportunity to make efforts to increase the number of subscribers. Some even suspected that the real cause for stopping the papers might be different from the one mentioned. I hope that the new resolution will dispel all doubts and be warmly welcomed.

It is human nature to get reconciled and adjusted to changed conditions. Gandhiji's death was an irreparable loss and at the moment many people did not know how they would get on without him. There were many who for months could not recall his memory without shedding tears. They too are now busily occupied in their humdrum of life playing their part in turning the ever-rotating wheel of the world. Just as we have got accustomed to do without Gandhiji, so we would have done without these papers, even if Navajivan had not altered its decision.

However, supposing that the doctors, who attended on Gandhiji when he was shot, had announced that they could bring him back to life if a few young men would come forward and offer their own heart, intestines etc., there is no doubt there would have been no dearth of young men and women ready to accept the demand at the cost of their lives, and the people would have been mad with delight for Gandhiji's resurrection, and gratitude for the martyrs who sacrificed themselves for it. That people are now accustomed to get on without Gandhiji does not mean that they do not feel his loss any more. The alacrity with which they reacted to the announced closure of the papers and promised efforts to keep them going, is similra to what they would have done to revive Gandhiji to life. Gandhiji was the creation of God ; hence, in his case such efforts were not possible. But they have borne fruit in case of the papers, which are a man-made thing.

Imagine, however, how immeasurably greater would Gandhiji have felt his responsibility to be if he had been restored to life with the martyrdom of those youths. And indeed equally greater would have been the responsibility of the people to follow thereafter his way of life. And how would have the surgeons relished their operation and taking a toll of young lives, had Gandhiji and the people failed to discharge their respective responsibilities later on ?

The same logic may be applied to these papers, now that they are being given a new lease of life. The public has asked the Trust to change its previous decision and keep the papers going ; it has succeeded, but it has greatly added to its own responsibility and mine and to that of the Trust also. The papers were not published to let me gratify my fancy for writing or occupying the editorial *gadi*. The Trust decided to resume the publication of the papers after Gandhiji's death and I to shoulder the editorial responsibility in the hope and belief that the public wanted the papers to continue. But experience showed that it was not as keen on their continuance as had been imagined, as is shown by the progressive decline in the number of subscribers. The result was that the Trust was obliged to decide their closure after an experience of four years.

Now they are being continued in deference to the wishes of the people. This enhances their responsibility to give them their protection. That responsibility cannot be discharged merely by sending donations or by offering to make up for the losses, or even by purchasing more copies than they need for their use or that of others. The papers must not be thrust on unwilling eyes and ears. A true subscriber is one who purchases it for reading it. Therefore, those who would have these papers continue should find out and even create actual readers of the papers. Poor readers may be helped by their friends who may send in the subscriptions on their behalf. This is quite permissible. But then, as far as possible, they themselves should send their names and addresses. The responsibility devolves especially on those who expressed eagerness and anxiety for the continuance of the papers. In this connection I deeply appreciate the spirit which has moved various friends and institutions to voluntarily undertake to create the full quota of new subscribers. While this is laudable, I would like to have subscribers distributed all over India and for all the editions. Similar attempts should be made in respect of Bengali, Telugu and other provincial editions published by local workers.

The responsibility that devolves on me as a result of this decision is overwhelming. Both my mind and body have been feeling increasingly tired day after day to bear the burden of the Editor. And the circumstance that the papers can be continued only on the expectation that I shall continue to edit them perplexes me. On the one hand I feel a deep sense of gratitude and gratification when friends, readers, co-workers, Government officers and the constructive institutions and almost all the political parties express good wishes and sympathy for me; on the other hand, my incapacity to cope with the increasing responsibility causes anxiety.

Harijan papers are not simply eight-page weeklies. They in themselves have come to occupy the status of an institution of constructive work. They have become the people's tribunal where complaints and problems, personal and public, regarding social, political and other matters may be poured from all over the country. The work is increasing day by day. This is a type of work which cannot be disposed of even with the help of additional assistants or departmental editors. Only the writers and correspondents can reduce it by keeping a restraint on themselves. The readers who have expressed their love for me and promised to make efforts for enrolling subscribers, will do well to help me in this direction also.

I was pained to find uncharitable insinuations and criticism expressed against the Navajivan Trust for their decision to close down the papers. It was Gandhiji who founded the Navajivan Trust, made it the vehicle for the publication of his writings and appointed for it trustees of his choice. With his consent the trustees were changed from time to time. Gandhiji bequeathed to it the copyright of his writings. We owe it to Gandhiji to respect his wishes. It is not proper to feel jealous of its privileged position in respect of his writings. If there are any doubts against it, they should be directly put to its trustees for clarification; but it is not proper to attribute uncharitable motives to it and spread ill-reports concerning it. It is one thing to point out to the trustees, what might appear to a member of the public their shortcomings. It must be done with the faith that the trustees are fully conscious of their responsibility arising out of the confidence reposed by Gandhiji in them and, if they err, they do so honestly. It is a different matter to spread distrust about them in the public. When the whole atmosphere is so clouded with mutual mistrust on all sides, it is required of every one to learn to put confidence in one another. Now that the people have brought pressure on the trustees and got the resolution changed, and the trustees have respected the popular demand, the duty of the people becomes all the greater to promote the reputation of the Institution considering it as their own.

Wardha, 16-2-'52 K. G. MASHRUWALA

"HARIJAN" PAPERS TO CONTINUE

In the three *Harijan* papers dated 2-2-1952 it was declared that the Navajivan Trust had been compelled to discontinue the publication of the papers from March 1952. In the following number Shri Kishorlalbhai published his article and therein gave the facts about the inadequate number of subscribers and the loss that had to be borne on that account. In the same article he appealed to all the readers and sympathizers of the papers that those who wanted the papers to continue should show their active sympathy by subscribing to them in large numbers. Following the declaration and Shri Kishorlalbhai's article the Navajivan Trust has received various suggestions and advice from various quarters as to what it should and should not do in this matter. The Trust in its annual general meeting on 15-2-'52 reviewed the whole question in the light of these suggestions and advice and has passed the following resolution :—

1. The Navajivan Trust deeply appreciates the sympathy and feeling of all those friends who felt that it was not a happy position that the *Harijan* papers would have to close publication for want of an adequate number of subscribers and who thereupon expressed their readiness to actively help the continuation of the papers by getting more subscribers for them.

Keeping in mind the mere fact of the loss, some sympathizers have suggested that the loss be met by receiving donations and in such other ways. Some have offered to take over the papers. In regard to these and such other suggestions and advice it must be explained that Gandhiji had laid it down as a definite policy that papers which do not attract or get an adequate number of subscribers are not needed by the people and that it is improper to continue to publish such papers and impose them on the readers. There is also a definite limit to the idea of handing over the papers to others who show eagerness to undertake the burden. Ordinarily, handing over the conduct of these papers to others cannot be considered, particularly to individuals or to concerns who run papers for profit or as a profession. Handing over these papers to some public institution like the Navajivan Trust which has accepted Gandhiji's principles and which has among its activities and functions the conduct of newspapers may however be considered. It is from the latter point of view that the Navajivan Trust has shown its readiness to hand over the English *Harijan* to the Sarva Seva Sangha.

Some others have asked: 'Why not carry on publishing the papers and meet the expenses by receiving advertisements, of course with discrimination?' The Trust deed executed by Gandhiji is very clear on the point and says: "Advertisements shall not be accepted in papers, pamphlets, books etc. published by the institution

(Trust) and the Trust shall not take such work in its printing press as is opposed to the objects of the Trust." Thus this way is not open to the Trust. The Trust knew that here was this way open to it. But it is plain that in view of this mandatory directive of the Trust deed that way is closed, for the Trust. The Trust could consider the offer of the Sarva Seva Sangh to undertake the publication of the English *Harijan* only because it showed readiness to carry on the publication without taking advertisements.

Letters and suggestions received immediately after the decision to close the publication of the papers reveal a curious misunderstanding lurking in the mind of the people. It seems to be the general but erroneous impression that the Navajivan Trust and the papers easily meet their expenses and that the Trust makes a fairly large profit from the sales of books by Gandhiji. The Secretary of the Trust is requested to prepare and issue a statement which will give a correct picture of the Trust's position to the public.

2. The readers of the papers and the public were warned no less than three times during the past two years that the papers had not an adequate number of subscribers and that therefore the papers were being run at a loss. These warnings bore no result. On the contrary the number of subscribers went on dwindling. It was only in view of this hard fact that the Trust came to the painful conclusion that there was no other way but to close their publication. As soon as this decision was published the public spontaneously expressed its sorrow and some friends have expressed their readiness to be actively helpful by canvassing new subscribers. The Trust welcomes and deeply appreciates this feeling and is prepared to review the position regarding the papers.

3. As declared in the *Harijan* of 2-2-'52, the Sarva Seva Sangh has shown its readiness to undertake the responsibility of the publication of the English *Harijan*. The Secretary of the Sangh, Shri Shankarrao Deo, has written to that effect. It is therefore resolved that the English *Harijan* be handed over to the Sangh from March, 1952 on the conditions mentioned in his letter.

Even if for some reason the Sangh is unable to undertake the responsibility the Navajivan Trust should, as a matter of trial, continue its publication for six months more. The paper must secure an adequate number of subscribers during that period so as to meet its expenses. To that end the present number of the subscribers which is 2,840 should go up to 6,500. The Secretary should report to the Trust about the actual position after four months.

4. In the deed of Trust there is one clause which runs as follows:

"*Aim*: To propagate peaceful means for the attainment of Swaraj for India by spreading mass education through such servants of the people as are cultured and are devoted to the Gujarati language and through the medium of that language desire to identify themselves with the life of Gujarat and in that manner wish to serve India in a pure way.

"For the fulfilment of this aim —

"To conduct the paper *Navajivan* and through it propagate the attainment of Swaraj by peaceful means. . . ."

In accordance with this clause the Trust feels it is an obligation to conduct one paper in Gujarati. In the same manner, about the *Harijansevak*, conducted in the national language Hindi, the Trust believes that it would be well if this paper could also be continued. It is therefore resolved that the publication of both these papers be continued, on the understanding that both together would attract an adequate number of subscribers so as to meet their expenses jointly. The Trust appeals to the public that they help the Trust in conducting these two papers by subscribing to them in sufficient numbers.

5. The number of subscribers to the *Harijansevak* (Hindi) today is 2,270. This number is the least among the three, which is a painful fact. If this number goes below 1,500, it would mean that the paper does not attract enough readers to justify its publication. Therefore it is resolved that if the number of subscribers for the (Hindi) *Harijansevak* goes below 1,500 its publication be discontinued and only the publication of the (Gujarati) *Harijanbandhu* be continued. The Trust hopes that the Gujarati-speaking public will surely help the Trust in carrying out its special obligation to conduct a Gujarati paper and will see to it that a situation compelling the Trust to discontinue it is not created.

Ahmedabad, 15-2-'52

JIVANJI D. DESAI
Managing Trustee
NAVAJIVAN TRUST

SHRI VINOBA'S NORTHERN TOUR
XIII

Vinobaji could not personally go to Aligarh but people came to see him, and donated 650 acres of land, and promised to carry the figure to a thousand. Vinobaji generally does not address after the end of the *Bhoodan Yajna*. But this day he spoke and expressed his gratification for the response of the people. The total land received at Aligarh was 1894 acres.

A Philosophical Discussion

A Sufi Darvesh came to meet Vinobaji in the evening. He was a seeker and questioned with earnestness, "How can one experience universal love?"

"Remove the distinction between mine and yours."

"It is difficult."

"We must immolate the ego, and engage ourselves in the service of mankind and should not allow ourselves to feel that *we* have achieved or done something."

"You have advised the students to control the senses. Is it possible? It has been said that the senses should not be killed. They are boons."

"I suggest a compromise between the two extremes. Neither be slaves to them, nor kill them; but control them."

"How should one control the mind?"

"Whatever the mind suggests should not be at once taken up, nor should it be allowed to be hastily influenced by others."

"And concentration ?"

"It is not difficult, but purity of life and cleansing of mind is essential. You must dispel hostility towards one and attachment for another."

"But how ?"

"For instance, if you suffer from anger, do acts of kindness and piety."

* * *

Darvesh: You said at the University that Mohammad was not the last prophet. But the Quran says, आमिनू बिल्ला है व रसूलिही (You must trust...the prophet), and gives the names of the prophets, and further says, वलिकुल्ली कौमिन हादिन् (Each nation is given a prophet). Islam believes that after the last prophet, humanity has progressed sufficiently enough so that no other prophet need come, and that whosoever shall come in future would only be as a *muslih* (Reformer and Supporter). What is your opinion in the matter ?

Vinoba: These are matters of opinion. The Quran says, खातिमिन् नबीयिन् (I am a bearer of witness, a confirmer of whatever the prophets have said so far). To interpret this as meaning that no prophet will come in the future is a type of atheism. Of course some people might say that a particular prophet is sufficient for them. But the world is to last for crores of years and to say that no other prophet will come in future would mean that we put limitations on the Divine Power. It is a statement beyond the power of man.

Question: This is merely a quarrel over words. Formerly people used to call the head of a State the 'King', now they call him 'the President'. Who can limit the Divine Power ? But what is meant to be conveyed is that prophethood is the highest stage of human evolution.

Vinoba: This, too, is a matter of opinion. I do not agree with it. I know people who believe that Gandhiji was the last perfect man and no one hereafter will exceed him. This is also a type of atheism. You know quite well that there is an utterance in the Quran itself, which was repealed later on.

Darvesh: But it was only in details; not in the fundamentals. We cannot accept that one prophet can say something which is directly denied by another.

Vinoba: Nor do I say so. He will also confirm it and the Prophet also did the same. If the Prophet said, "Speak the truth", will a future one say, "Don't speak the truth ?" There is a text 'Where is the man, who dares to falsify the Divine Power ?' which comes repeatedly in Sur-e-Rahaman. At times it comes even in the middle of a sentence. Sir Syed Ahmed deleted it. He was thereupon called a heretic by Muslims. The person who called an-al-haq (अनलहक—I am the Truth) was killed by stones. It similarly happened with the Bible. They said that if St. Mathew was to be printed it should be printed in full. Printing of selected portions thereof was regarded against religion. All this amounts to worship of the letter or an idol. Hence it should not be held that no prophet would come in the future.

Darvesh: Sir, as I have already said, we won't call him a prophet. He would be called a reformer.

Vinoba: Yes, the cow used to give milk before, she also gives milk now. But then you called it 'milk', and now you want to call it 'wilk'?

Both laughed. The Darvesh respectfully bade good-bye.

Aligarh to Khurja

At Khurja farming is being done through agricultural village societies. Shri Ram Saroop is one of its prominent workers. When we reached Khurja we were happy to find some ladies spinning. Prior to the commencement of the afternoon prayer, Vinobaji visited the village manure centre. After the prayer was over some Socialist friends came to meet Vinobaji. Some of them donated lands according to their means and capacity. Then we moved from Khurja to Bulandshahr and from Bulandshahr to Sikandarabad. At both these places people donated lands to the best of their means.

Sikandarabad

On our way to Sikandarabad people gathered on the roads. In addition to the usual welcome with flowers, garlands etc., a person gave the salute of a gun. Vinobaji stopped and enquired the cause of firing the gun. People said that it was as a mark of respect to a great man. Vinobaji said that a gun was fired usually to scare away animals. It should not be regarded a sign of welcome. He did not need even flowers and garlands, erection of bowers and loud cheers. What he wanted was *land*. Then continuing he said, "Our ways and manners are foolish. How beautiful is the sky ? Why do you yet need to erect a bower ? Have you no other work to do ? Why should time and energy be wasted in 21 gun salutes, and designing decorations and giving loud cheers ? Instead of remembering God in the early hours of the morning, why do you make all this noise ? Instead of donating land why do you make this mere show ? Is it not sheer waste of energy ?"

He described the misfortune which befell the Delhi Congress. "The Delhi people had made such decorations that God could not have liked it. All was burnt by fire. Yet the Congress session was carried on without decorations. God taught a lesson that no decorations are needed for work. What an amount of energy was spent even on the Jaipur Session of the Congress ? Art is essential for man's advancement, but they are out of place when you do not assemble there for promoting art, but for serious deliberations. When Shivaji gathered his men, did he first arrange decorations ? Those who want to create a kingdom have no time for such things."

Vinoba experienced some pain in his left leg as he was walking. On examination, it was found that the vein of the left leg was swollen. Vinoba began to think about it and remembered that the painful part had remained pressed against pebbles for a long time. On the discovery of the cause, the pain abated slightly. It was in the left foot. Vinoba said, "I see that my right foot has been trying to relieve the left by taking a larger part of my weight. So should it be in society also. One should share another's suffering; but the present way of family life stands as a barrier in the way. I am trying to make the people realize the unity of life. But if God wills destruction, the same state of affairs will continue."

In the meanwhile, the pain in the leg increased. It became impossible to use the chappals any longer. Without them, it was very painful to walk but there was no help. For a couple of days more the pain persisted; so did the journey too.

Discussion with a Pressman

A pressman met him at Sikandarabad. He discussed the problem of refugees and asked, "Are you satisfied with the work of the Government in respect of refugees ?"

Vinobaji replied, "Under the circumstances in which the Government was placed, it could not have done better. I was always of the opinion that Congress and other parties should have at once begun to serve the refugees. The latter should have been told that they would have to stand on their own legs. If they had been made to realize this from the beginning they would have tried to mix with the people from the very start. They had intelligence enough to adjust themselves to every situation. I can say about myself that I have been doing all I can to work for the refugees."

Question: Large buildings where hundreds can live are occupied by a few ministers when millions are homeless. What do you think of this ?

Vinoba: I am not inclined to give a straight 'No' to what you want to suggest. Our leaders have certain ideas about dignity and propriety, but I can only say that simplicity is to be lived.

"If Gandhiji were alive today would he not have tried to send persons coming from Pakistan back to their homes ?"

Vinoba: It is difficult to say what Gandhiji would have done today, if he were alive. He had powers and ways which we cannot conceive of; but under the circumstances in which we are placed I do not think it is possible that those who have come from Pakistan can be sent back and those who have gone there can come back. But the two countries should develop better understanding and also commercial relations.

"Will you give priority to refugees in distributing the land you are collecting ?"

"The land in Hyderabad is out of the question, because it has arisen out of the communist problem. There we have kept the Harijans particularly in view. But in other parts of the country we shall certainly consider those refugees who are prepared to till the land themselves."

"What will be the policy of Sarvodaya Samaj in regard to the coming elections ?"

"The Sarva Seva Sangh has made it clear in a resolution which has been published in *Harijan* and I endorse the same. I hold in esteem all the three, Pandit Nehru, Acharya Kripalani and Jaiprakash Narayan. All the three love me and I hope that I have taken up a work in which all the three can meet on a common platform."

Before concluding, the interviewer desired Vinobaji to give a message in respect of Khansaheb Abdul Ghafar Khan. Vinoba immediately gave the following:

"Badshah Khan is always in my mind. He is a friend of Pakistan, of India and of the whole world. I do not regret his being in jail because I think that this *tapasya* (suffering) of his will some day join together the hearts now rent by differences. I have not the least doubt that God will give success to his *tapasya*. If the Pathans, in whom he breathed a new life, do not leave the non-violent way and devote themselves to the service of the people with patience, they will achieve their goal."

Dadri

Shortly after our arrival at Dadri, some Socialists came to meet Vinoba and enquired about the Sarvodaya Organization, the *Bhoodan Yajna*, the Planning Commission and other important matters.

"Have you read my views about the Planning Commission ?"

"No, sir."

"Have you read about my talk with Jaiprakash Narayan at Wardha ?"

"No, sir."

"Have you read the resolution of the Sarva Seva Sangh about politics ?"

"No, sir."

"Then, please read all these and then your questions will be different."

One of the important questions put to him was: "Are you not consciously or unconsciously increasing the prestige of the Congress ?"

"You are not accustomed to feel that you can fight the elections separately and yet be friends. Instead of understanding each other, people indulge in irresponsible talks and slanderous language. We should all leave the judgment to the people."

In the evening he performed the opening ceremony of a girls' school. Evening prayers were also held there. Vinoba commenced with reciting the *Mantra, Om Sahanavavatu*, and devoted the whole session in explaining it. The *mantra* says,

"We both will live together, eat together, work together etc." Both here did not suggest only the teacher and the student, but was to be applied to husband and wife, father and son, employer and employee, Hindu and Muslim and all such dual relations. All invidious distinctions were to be abolished.

Vinoba reflected upon all the possible aspects of this. Among the Muslims, *namaz* was hardly said by women. There was no limit to our differences. Another glaring instance could be noticed where only caste-fellows would follow a funeral procession. If people lived together, the need of money would lessen. Then everyone would work for others like members of a family. It was because people worked for their own small family, there was corruption, black-marketing etc. In a community life food would be grown, cloth would be made and all things produced for one another. There would be no need for money then.

"I therefore say, consider all the land which is in a village as belonging to all the village people. Today because of legal documents, land is divided into so many disproportionate and unbalanced bits. We celebrate the *holi* festival every year. Let us celebrate it this time in a genuine way and put into the fire besides wood, our own legal documents. These laws are responsible for the division of your hearts as well. They are cutting at the very root of your being. How can then such hearts survive ? Let us therefore rend these documents as Bhima did Jarasandh and burn them in fire, and then cultivate the entire land collectively. Then you will notice sudden increase in brotherhood and love. Lord Krishna had united the entire population of Gokul into a family unit. All worked together, lived together and passed their time merrily together. I want very humbly to bring the same state of affairs again."

As Delhi drew near, emotional waves rose higher and higher. Vinobaji was surrounded by love on all sides. There was love, nothing but love, in the hearts of tens of thousands of people who thronged on the way he trod. He wanted to bring the same state of affairs for each and everyone of us, and this very idea was the nucleus of his mission.

Gaziabad

From Dadri to Gaziabad and from Gaziabad to Delhi. In Gaziabad a retired District Magistrate donated his entire land of 110 acres. At about 8 p.m., when Vinoba was about to retire, a lady also came to donate all her land. She said she was under the impression that Vinobaji accepted land only from big zamindars, but was happy to learn that he would accept her humble offering also. Her husband was a legal practitioner and earned enough in the legal profession. They did not need land and she therefore requested Vinoba to accept her gift and bless her.

Can any one doubt that the mission was blessed by God ? Such gifts increase the faith in the basic goodness of human nature. The lady revealed a peculiar sense of satisfaction after giving the land. Vinobaji often said that at the time of giving the land, one should feel as happy and elated as the young mother does while giving her first-born child milk at her breast.

(Translated from Hindi) D. M.

CONTENTS

CONTENTS		PAGE
BA	.. K. G. Mashruwala	433
MY ACCOUNT	.. K. G. Mashruwala	433
CIRCULATION OF "HARIJAN" PAPERS	.. Jivanji D. Desai	434
REDEEM THE OLD PLEDGE	.. L. B.	434
VINOBAJI MARCHING TOWARDS ECONOMIC FREEDOM	.. S. Jagannathan	435
ADDED RESPONSIBILITY	.. K. G. Mashruwala	436
"HARIJAN" PAPERS TO CONTINUE	.. Jivanji D. Desai	437
SHRI VINOBA'S NORTHERN TOUR—XIII	.. D. M.	438
INDEX (1951-52)	..	440A

Subscription Rates—Inland: One year, Rs. 6; Six months, Rs. 3; Foreign: One year, Rs. 8 or 14s. or $2.
Printed and Published by Jivanji Dahyabhai Desai, Navajivan Press, Ahmedabad 9.

INDEX: VOLUME XV (1951-52)

AUTHOR INDEX

Acharya, M. P. T.
Confusion between Communism and State Capitalism 293
Protection of Women 165

A Cultivator
A Cultivator's Plaint against Controls 61

Agarwal, S. N.
A Critique of the Five Year Plan 225
A Scheme for increasing Food Production 18
Dishonesty at High Level 110
Food Controls Reconsidered 76
"Guess-Work" Planning 2
The Tragedy of a Wall 307

Alexander, Horace
Peace, Unity and Equality through Labour 102

Anand, Swami
Social Work among Hill Tribes of Himachal Pradesh 197

Anon.
A Fighter of Steadfast Resolve 71
A Good Suggestion 248
Alcohol Affects Judgment of Drivers 387
Appreciation 211
Assam Earthquake Relief Fund 34
Bapu on Land Distribution 370
Bhave's Significant Method 402
Corruption and Elections 251
Dangerous D. D. T. 358
Dange-Vinoba Correspondence 210
Emerson on Dishonest Ways of Trade 82
General Candy's Testimony 273
General MacArthur on the Abolition of War 271
Guidance to Constructive Workers and Voters 205
Heroic Clerk 387
Higher Values 119
Hindi Isha-Upanishad 410
Hindi, Marathi and Gujarati Shorthand Classes 111
Hindi *vs.* Regional Languages 224
Index 1950-51 152(A)
Index 1951-52 (440-A)
Kasturba Gram Seva Vidyalaya 391
Kaumi Ekta Sammelan 132
Mahadev Desai and Bapu 201
Mahatma Gandhi and Prohibition 241
Mahilashram, Wardha 104
Man or Monkey 150
Mind of the South African Government 96
Mr Churchill's Reply 373
Navajivan Publications 248
Precautions Against Catching Colds 391
Prohibition — A Blessing 298
Sarva Seva Sangh 192
Sarva Seva Sangh Proceedings 3, 347
Sarva Seva Sangh Resolutions 115
'Save the Children' 203
Seven Prizes 130
Shri Tandon's Statement 240
Some Charkha Sangh Decisions 176
Sthitaprajna Recitation 406
Tandon-Mashruwala Correspondence 278
This Picture and That 246
Thou Didst Resist 405
Training in Leprosy Work 214, 230
Two Cities in One 101
U. S. Children's Gifts to India 248
What War Means: Lessons in Military Training 166

Aryanayakam, E. W.
Hindustani Talimi Sangh 35
"Working to Learn" 269

A Spectator
Without Comment 339

Baba Raghavdas
An Appeal to U. P. Zamindars 423

Bajaj, Radhakrishna
Go-seva in Madhya Bharat 294

Balakrishnan, N. R.
"Peace on Earth and Goodwill among Men" 139

Barve, A. V.
Eat to Live 93
Supplementary Gandhi Week 344

Baum, Prof. Bernard
To the Memory of Mahatma Gandhi 411

Bedi, Gurbachan Singh
An Experiment in Basic Education 363

Bhatia, D. S.
Vegetable Milks and Related Products 385

Bhatt, Nanabhai & Others
Saurashtra Rural University Committee 423

Bodani, Vithaldas
A Costly Barter? 132
First Things First 278

Brahmachari Akshaya
Qaumi Ekta Sammelan 59

Buch, Puratan
Famine Conditions in Bihar 191

Chaudhary, Gopabandhu
A Story and its Moral 186
Sarvodaya Conference, Shivarampalli 27

Chidambaresh, R.
Rabindranath Tagore 73

Cooke, Alistair
Marvellous Co-operation to Save a Life 64

Cotton, Eugenie
International Conference of Children 157

Cousins, Norman
Literacy *vs.* Knowledge 247

Das, B. Jagannath
Gandhiji's Choice of an Inspiring Name 14

Das Gupta, Satish Chandra
Anti-War Force 344
Blow to Jute Cottage Industry 192
More about Bone-Export 373
Planned Immorality 261
The Duty of the State Towards Khadi — I-III 134, 155

Datt, S.
Damodar Valley Corporation 231

D. D.
On Way to Shivarampalli 31, 39

Deo, Shankarrao
Addendum 386
An Appeal for Sarvodaya Celebration 392
Communism & Sarvodaya 304
Sarva Seva Sangh: Three Years' Training 383

Desai, Jivanji D:
Assam Earth-Quake Relief Fund 44
Circulation of "Harijan" Papers 434
Copyright in Gandhiji's Writings 25
"Harijan" Papers 409
"Harijan" Papers to Continue 437
Navajivan Publications at Poona 204
'Seven Months with Mahatma Gandhi' 296

Desai, M. P.
Administrative Services *vs.* University Degrees 40
Basic Education 122
"Excise Revenue (Promotion) Committee"? 21
Food and Culture 64
Medium of Instruction for Higher Education 213
Prohibition and Equality 87
Prohibition and Secret Markets of Liquor 51
Prohibition Ever Successful 25
Removal of English 244
Substitute for English 250
The Challenge of the Situation 227
The Economics of Prohibition 58
The Hindi of the Constitution 138
The Income from Drink 48
The Siege of English 15
Whither Students? 65

Desh Raj
To Voters 364

Dhoot, Ramkrishna
The Land Gifts Mission 237

D. M.
Elections with Amity 233
From Vinoba's Walking Tour 271
Indian Islam 430
In the Aligarh University 429
Land-Gifts Mission 177
More Gifts of Land 230
On Way to Shivarampalli III-XVI 41, 55, 62, 74, 82, 91, 103, 119, 125, 130, 150, 166, 173, 177
Shri Vinoba at Shivarampalli VI-XIII 182, 186, 193, 207, 215, 222, 229, 234
Shri Vinoba's Lalitpur Speech 321
Shri Vinoba's Northern Tour II-XIII 282, 305, 313, 330, 342, 356, 368, 374, 377, 399, 402, 438
Shri Vinoba's Telangana Tour I-XV 242, 266, 276, 290, 312, 318, 323, 335, 351, 356, 366, 374, 384, 390, 414
The Pilgrim's Progress 294

Fernando, W. S.
Ahimsa Week 46

Fuss, Michael
The Cause of Corruption and the Remedy 418

Gandhi, Krishnadas
The Madras Government and the A.I.S.A. I-II 6, 10

Gandhi, Manilal
Manilal Gandhi's Statement 50

Gandhi, Manubehn
Slavery to English 419

Gandhi, M. K.
Exercise of Soul-Force 265
Legislation before Education 161
"Lord of Humility" 257
Selected Letters (Second Series) XXV-XXXVI 95, 163
The Cow in Mysore 221

Gandhi Narandas
The Charkha Jayanti 173
Gilder, Dr. M. D. D. & Others
Calumny Answered 273
Gupta, Ghanashyam Sinha
The Hindi of the Constitution 255
H.
The Task of Peace-making 406
Hall, Clarence
Where is our Emory Alvord? 140
H. M. V.
Celebration of Holidays 268
'Shri Thakkar Bapa Commemoration Volume' 291
J.
A New Step in Anti-Leprosy Service 327
Jagadishprasad
Thakkar Bapa's Care of Public Trust 47
Jagannathan, S.
Village Problems of Tamilnad 343
Vinoba Marching towards Economic Freedom 435
Jaju, Shrikrishnadas
Checking Corruption 281
Controls and Honest Life 252
Dole Gets a Start 52
Handloom Problem — II 113
Government Salaries and Constructive Workers 412
"Make Me Thy Servant My Lord" 333
Produce Tree-Cotton in Schools 19
Javeri, Pannalal
The Vanaspati Menace 111
K.
The Message of "Give" 425
Kalelkar, Kaka
The Third Way 292
Kately, A. E.
Gandhiji's Fast 288
Kedarnath
"Vyavahar Shuddhi Mandal" 101
Keithan, R. R.
Message from the Kodaikanal International Peace Seminar 123
Whom to Elect? 308
Keller, Hellen
A Message to the Physically Handicapped 119
Kher, B. G.
Need for Re-Orientation of Education 253
Our National Language 169
Kipling, Rudyard
If 257
Kishore, Giriraj
Hindi Doosari Examination 326
Hindi Examination for Government Servants 283
Hindi-Hindustani Examinations 418
"Hindi Vinit" Examination 243
Kripalani, J. B.
Make Vinoba's Pilgrimage a Success 305
Krishna Chandra
Soya-Milk and Curds — I-II 422, 426
Kropotkin, Peter
The Wage System 318
Kumarappa, J. C.
From China 338
Land — Its Use 181
Pannai Ashram 127
Remarks on the First Five Year Plan — I-II 201, 209
Swaraj Politics 199
The Next Move 116
Lakshmidas, Purushottam
Gandhi Smarak Nidhi 80
L. B.
Land Donation Figures 424

Redeem the Old Pledge 434
Vinobaji's Advice to Villagers 411
'Loksevak'
Tribal Welfare in Madhya Pradesh — II 339
Lord Samuel
Lord Samuel on Gandhiji 1
M.
A. I. R. Language Policy 61
Is This Not Sheer Waste? 40
Mahalingam, N.
Manufacture of Motor Vehicles in India 398
'Mahitgar'
Tribal Welfare in Madhya Pradesh — I 335
Mahtab, H. K.
Handloom Problem — I 105
Maithili Saran & Others
Hindi Writers' Appeal 376
Majumdar, P. L.
Prohibition — A Real Blessing 133
Mandagere, S. B.
Gas and Manure Cow-Dung 206
Mankar, J. N.
Cruelty to Animals 154
Mashruwala, K. G. (K. G. M.)
Abu Road Disturbances 149
Abuse of Gandhiji's Pictures 364
A Correction 195
A day book of thoughts from Mahatma Gandhi 43
Added Responsibility 436
Adjuncts of Prayers 428
A Fantastic Scheme 22
Against Collective Farming 17
A Hopeful Sign 137
A Mischievous Move 217
Anandibai Karve 75
An Explanation 245, 361
A Sorry Spectacle 189
A Thought-provoking Pamphlet 232
Ba 433
Bribery 225
Ce'sar Bugany-France 96
Charkha — A Message for the World 297
Chief Justice Kania 325
"Choosing Your Legislators" 330
Coca-Cola Mad 47
Common Prayers 396
Communalism 149
Congress & Constructive Workers 332
'Construction Week' 70
Constructive Workers and Politics 116
Constructive Workers and Elections 204
Controls and Black-Markets 108
Controls and Rationing 60
Co-ordination of Handicrafts and Mechanized Industries — I-IV 20, 28, 36, 44
Corrections 403
Corruption to Escape Penalty 267
Cremation Facilities for Trinidad Hindus 184
"Dadiji" Bajaj 117
Darbar Gopaldas Desai 353
Drink for the Country? 45
Efforts to Combat Monkey Nuisance 165
Election Organization 432
Export of Bones — I 338
Fast against Cow-Slaughter 57
Five Crore Acres 296
Five-Fold Programme 68
Food Collection 81
Food Deficiency 84
Free 'Harijan' 46
Free Supply of "Harijan" Papers 9
Future of Prohibition in Bombay 303

Gandhiji and Cow-Slaughter 220
"God, Give Us Education" 341
Grow Fodder 355
Help with Discretion 108
Hindu Code Bill 372
His All-Embracing Love 401
In Regard to Communism 212
Income and Property 92
Indian Nomenclature 309
Land and Population 324
Linguistic Separations 160
Lose Not Faith 348
Maltreatment of Harijans 117
Mango Kernel 92
Manilal Gandhi's Fast and Our Duty 49
Mathuradas Trikamji 180
Misconceived Research Work 97
My Account 433
Nehru-Tandon Controversy 245
Payment of Tagavi 340
Payment of Takavi 288
Personal — Vinobaji 405
Planning for India — I-II 289, 302
Plans and Protests 12
Police Shootings 45
Political Intolerance 216
Prevention of Public Loss 9
Prime Minister Liaqat Ali Khan 297
Prompt Action Necessary 9
Public Urinals and Water Closets 309
Quarrelsome Words 365
Question-Box 361, 409
Remission of Rent 420
Respect for Womanhood 136
Revival of Linguistic Controversies 293
Sarvodaya Subjects 33
Secrecy in Balloting 112
Seed-Supply 65
Shivarampalli Report 126
Shri Balasaheb Pant 65
Shri B. Narasimha Rao 400
Shri Manilal Gandhi's Civil Disobedience 293
'Shri' or 'Sri' 219
Shri Shivanand's Murder 81
Shri Shoorji Vallabhdas 329
Shri Vinoba's Northern Tour 248
Shuddha Vyavahara Andolan 37
Social Evils 372
Some Charges 316
Speaker or Judge? 1
Success to Andhra's Will 267
Tandonji's Displeasure 280
Tandonji's Resignation 244
Tanners and Cobblers 388
Technological Research Institutes 84
Terrorism in Saurashtra 416
Thakkar Bapa Memorial Appeal 89
Thakkar Bapa's Anniversary 397
The Bureaucratic Machine 129
The Charkha Week 264
The Congress Crisis 238
The Congress Manifesto — I-II 188, 196
The Dum Dum Tragedy 341
The Fivefold Programme & Shri Jawaharlal Nehru 93
The Land Problem of Hyderabad 228
The Price of Ghee 112
The Principles of Handloom Industry 124
The Sardar's First Death Anniversary 353
These Papers 417
The Uses of Mango Kernel 128
The Waste of Somnath 129
"To a Gandhian Capitalist" 376
To Public Servants and Traders 185

Two Great Days 404
Unholy Holi 99
Vinobaji in Delhi 329
Vinoba's Pilgrimage 24
Vinoba's Return Home 165
Vinoba's Telangana Tour 129
Vinoba's Tour 117
What is a Secular Government ? 100
What is "Secular" ? 158
Wrong Advice 309
Wrong Approach 148

Mavalankar, G. V.
Kasturba and Mahatma Gandhi Trusts 77

Mazumdar, Dhirendra
A Message to the Middle Class 356
Boycott as Part of Constructive Work 286
No Mere Resolution but a Pledge 382
Sarvodaya Yatras 360, 397
Self-sufficiency and Commercial Khadi 272
The Call of the New Age 393
30th January 389
Towards Boycott 347

Mehta, Dr. Jivraj
Mathuradas's Last Wish 218

Mira (Mirabehn)
But Where are the Kisans and Mazdoors ? 268
"Destroy More Food" Campaign ! 219
Hell in the Midst of Heaven 3
Himalayan Lessons — III-VII 114, 147, 164, 183, 190
Misgivings Confirmed — I-II 45, 71
Not So Easy 314
The Devil at Play 130

Mistri, Sorabji R.
Bleached Flour 355
Repeated Vaccinations and Inoculations 127

Mohani, Hari Krishna
Bright Lights of Shivarampalli 66

M. S.
"Boimondau" — An Experiment in "All Things Common" 46
Conscientious Objection to War 94
Economic Management of Conferences 158
Hindustani Talimi Sangh 58

Moorjani, M. M.
Vegetable Milks and Related Products 385

Munshi, K. M.
Somnath Temple 79

Nandurkar, G. M.
On Prohibition 310

Narayana Rao, V. S.
Drink-Talim 338

Nargolkar, Vasant
Prohibition in Tribal Areas 234

Nayar, Sushila (S. N.) & Others
Calumny Answered 273
Mr Churchill and Gandhiji's Fast 274

Nehru, Jawaharlal
A Pilgrim in Quest of Truth 258

Octopus
Coco-Cola invades India 23
Effects of Coco-Cola on Indian Industry 30

Pancholi, Manubhai & Others
Saurashtra Rural University Committee 423

Ponnan, C.
Prohibition — A Real Blessing 263

Pope, Liston
Where Is Our Emory Alvord ? 140

Pilgrim
Musings in the Mountain 354

Pyarelal & Others
Calumny Answered 273

Radhakrishna
Night-Soil Manure 395

Rajagopalachari, C.
Alcohol and Fatigue 94
To the Middle Classes 421

Rajendraprasad
Equal Respect for All Religions 101
India's Language Policy 236

Ramachandran, G.
A. I. V. I. A. Training Courses in Maganwadi 79
Dr. Kumarappa — A Biography 362
Indian and Pakistan Youth 395
Shri Kumarappa in China 370
The Economics of Peace — The Cause and the Man 359

Ramakrishnaiah, P.
An Attempt Towards Samagra Gram Seva at Pedaravur 320

Ramaswami, N.
The Handloom Problem 198

Rangaiya, D.
Earthquake-ruined Adivasis 23
Thakkar Bapa Memorial Fund, Delhi 424

Ranka, Rishabhdas
Honest Life Movement in Wardha 200

Rao, Keshav
Progress of the Land-Gifts Mission in Telangana 327

Rao, Radhakrishna
Neera 270

R. C.
Our Bhangi Brother 379

Reinbold, Albert
Thanks 11

Roy, B. C. & Others
Calumny Answered 273

R. R.
Pannai Ashram Notes — I-IV 230, 255, 311, 315

Sahu, Lakshminarayana
Prohibition in Orissa 325

"Salesman"
History of Vanaspati Price Control 15

Santbal
Appeal to the People, Government Officers and Workers of Gujarat 323
Non-violence of the Brave 22

Sen, Dr. P. K.
Basic Realities 342

Sharma, Shri Ram
To Waverers 330

Sitaram
Economic Equality 93
Sarvodaya Conference, Shivarampalli 27

Sivasubramaniam, N. S.
Yarn for Handlooms 43

S. K. M.
Pearl Buck Warns 43

Smilanski, M.
Agricultural Machines and Fertilizers 400

Soman, R. J.
Labour's Sanction for Peace 322

Sowany, N. R.
Katai Mandals 107

Subrahmanyam, V.
Vegetable Milks and Related Products 385

Suresh Ramabhai
A False Standard 331
For Truth's Sake 87
Plight of Weavers in Madras 53
Salaries in New China 379
Shivarampalli Account 69

Sykes, Marjorie
Adult Education in Nai Talim 341
The Seventh All India Basic Education Conference 32

Tagore, Rabindranath
Mahatma 401

Tandon, Purushottamdas & Others
Appeal 72
Thakkar Bapa Memorial Fund — An Appeal 90

U.
Advertisement 157
Crossword & Race 82

Vaidyanathan, L.
Palm Gur Industry 187

Vallabhswami
A Camp for Ashram-life 75
Sarva Seva Sangh 424
Sarvodaya Conference, 1952 362
Sarvodaya Conference, Shivarampalli 27
Sarvodaya Sammelan 426

Venkataramani, K. S.
Our Food Problem 121

V. G. D.
A Curious Ministry 140
Anti-Prohibitionists' Fallacies 13
Augean Stables on Railways 309
Crops out of the Deserts 118
Each Day Fresh Houses are Going Up 1
Earthworms in America 111
Effects of Alcohol 243
Genocide in Korea 359
Guru Govindsinhji's Equations 118
Humiliating and Disastrous Policies 240
Lessons from Cyprus 118
'The Broken Harmony' 398
The Case against B. C. G. 195
Wanted a Botanical Garden at Jodhpur 118
Wanted a New Husbandry 367

V. H.
Musahar Sammelan 56

Vijayaraghavacharya, T.
Voluntary Beef-abstention 81

Vinayakam, R.
A Danish Daughter of India 26

Vinoba
A Call to Constructive Workers 380
Advancement of Labourers 390
A Futile Controversy 29
A Powerful Word 86
Appeal to Madhya Pradesh 292
Bhoomi Dan Yajna 349
Criticism of the Planning Commission 284
Food Self-sufficiency : A Basic Policy ? 4
Forms of the One Lord 276
Garbage-heap Learning 46
Heralding the Revolution 5
My Movement 423
Political Work & Social Work 345
Sacrificial Offering of Land — I-II 249, 260
Samyayoga — Practice of Equality 109
Secular or Religious ? 365
Shri Vinoba at Shivarampalli — I-V 141, 145, 153, 169
The Call of the Age 300
The Message of Sarvodaya Samaj 81
The Nehru-Tandon Controversy 238
The Offering of Yarn-Hanks in Sarvodaya Melas 404
The Place of Khadi Now 172
The Spiritual Basis of Bhoodan Yajna 407
Village Economics 369

Yutang, Lin
Gandhism as I Understand It 259

SUBJECT-INDEX

Books and Periodicals

A Day Book of Thoughts from Mahatma Gandhi K. G. M. 43
Added Responsibility K. G. Mashruwala 436
Anti-War Force Satish Chandra Das Gupta 344
A Pilgrim in Quest of Truth Jawaharlal Nehru 258
A Thought-provoking Pamphlet K. G. M. 232
" Boimondau " — An Experiment in " All Things Common " M. S. 46
" Choosing Your Legislators " K. G. M. 330
Circulation of " Harijan " Papers Jivanji D. Desai 434
Dr. Kumarappa — A Biography G. Ramachandran 362
Free ' Harijan ' K. G. M. 46
Free Supply of " Harijan " Papers K. G. M. 9
" Harijan " Papers Jivanji D. Desai 409
" Harijan " Papers to Continue Jivanji D. Desai 438
My Account K. G. Mashruwala 433
Navajivan Publications Anon. 248
" Seven Months with Mahatma Gandhi " Jivanji Desai 296
Shivarampalli Report K. G. M. 126
" Shri Thakkar Bapa Commemoration Volume " H. M. V. 291
" The Broken Harmony " V. G. D. 398
The Economics of Peace — The Cause and the Man G. Ramachandran 359
These Papers K. G. Mashruwala 417
" The Task of Peace-making " H. 406
" To a Gandhian Capitalist " K. G. M. 376

Communal Unity

A Mischievous Move K. G. Mashruwala 217
Communalism K. G. Mashruwala 149
Guru Govindsinhji's Equations V. G. D. 118
Indian and Pakistan Youth G. Ramachandran 395
In the Aligarh University D. M. 429
Kaumi Ekta Sammelan Anon. 132
Manilal Gandhi's Fast and Our Duty K. G. Mashruwala 49
Qaumi Ekta Sammelan Akshaya Brahmachari 59
Seed-Supply K. G. M. 65
The Tragedy of a Wall S. N. Agarwal 307

Communism

Communism and Sarvodaya Shankarrao Deo 304
Confusion between Communism and State Capitalism M. P. T. Acharya 298
Dange-Vinoba Correspondence 210
In Regard to Communism K. G. Mashruwala 212
Samyayoga — Practice of Equality Vinoba 109

Congress and Politics

Abu Road Disturbances K. G. M. 149
A Critique of the Five Year Plan S. N. Agarwal 225
A Curious Ministry V. G. D. 140
A False Standard Suresh Ramabhai 331
A Mischievous Move K. G. Mashruwala 217
An Explanation K. G. Mashruwala 245
A Sorry Spectacle K. G. Mashruwala 189
Congress and Constructive Workers K. G. Mashruwala 332
Constructive Workers and Politics K. G. Mashruwala 116
Co-ordination of Handicrafts and Mechanized Industries — I-II-III K. G. Mashruwala 20, 28, 36
Criticism of the Planning Commission Vinoba 284
Damodar Valley Corporation S. Datta 231
Dole Gets a Start Shrikrishnadas Jaju 52
Drink for the Country ? K. G. M. 45
Efforts to Combat Monkey Nuisance K. G. Mashruwala 165
Food Self-Sufficiency : A Basic Policy ? Vinoba 4
For Truth's Sake Suresh Ramabhai 87
Future of Prohibition in Bombay K. G. Mashruwala 303
" God, Give Us Education " K. G. M. 341
Government Salaries and Constructive Workers Shrikrishnadas Jaju 412
" Guess-Work " Planning S. N. Agarwal 2
Handloom Problem — I H. K. Mahtab 105
Handloom Problem — II Shrikrishnadas Jaju 113
Is This Not Sheer Waste ? M. 40
Linguistic Separations K. G. Mashruwala 160
Lose Not Faith K. G. Mashruwala 348
Manufacture of Motor Vehicles in India N. Mahalingam 398
Musings in the Mountain Pilgrim 354
Nehru-Tandon Controversy K. G. Mashruwala 245
Not So Easy Mira 314
Payment of Tagavi K. G. Mashruwala 340
Payment of Takavi K. G. M. 288
Pearl Buck Warns S. K. M. 43
Planning for India — I-II K. G. Mashruwala 289, 302
Plans and Protests K. G. M. 12
Plight of Weavers in Madras Suresh Ramabhai 53
Police Shootings K. G. M. 45
Political Intolerance K. G. Mashruwala 216
Political Work and Social Work Vinoba 345
Prevention of Public Loss K. G. M. 9
Prohibition in Orissa Lakshminarayana Sahu 325
On Way to Shivarampalli — XI, XIII D. M. 125, 150
Question-Box K. G. Mashruwala 361, 409
Remarks on the First Five Year Plan — I-II J. C. Kumarappa 201, 209
Secular or Religious ? Vinoba 365
Shri Tandon's Statement 240
Some Charges K. G. Mashruwala 316
Speaker or Judge ? K. G. M. 1
Success to Andhra's Will K. G. Mashruwala 267
Swaraj Politics J. C. Kumarappa 199
Tandonji's Displeasure K. G. Mashruwala 280
Tandonji's Resignation K. G. Mashruwala 244
Tandon-Mashruwala Correspondence 278
Terrorism in Saurashtra K. G. Mashruwala 416
The Bureaucratic Machine K. G. M. 129
The Congress Crisis K. G. Mashruwala 238
The Congress Manifesto — I-II K. G. Mashruwala 188, 196
The Income from Drink M. P. Desai 48
The Madras Government and the A.I.S.A. — I-II Krishnadas Gandhi 6, 10
The Nehru-Tandon Controversy Vinoba 238
The Next Move J. C. Kumarappa 116
The Principles of Handloom Industry K. G. Mashruwala 124
Without Comment A Spectator 339
Wrong Advice K. G. M. 309

Constructive Work

A Call to Constructive Workers Vinoba 380
A Story and its Moral Gopabandhu Chaudhary 186
Boycott as Part of Constructive Work Dhirendra Mazumdar 286
Congress and Constructive Workers K. G. Mashruwala 332
' Construction Week ' K. G. Mashruwala 70
Constructive Workers and Politics K. G. Mashruwala 116
Government Salaries and Constructive Workers Shrikrishnadas Jaju 411
Katai Mandals N. R. Sowany 107
" Make Me, Thy Servant My Lord " Shrikrishnadas Jaju 333
No mere Resolution but a Pledge Dhirendra Mazumdar 382
On Way to Shivarampalli — XVI D. M. 177
Plans and Protests K. G. M. 12

Redeem the Old Pledge L. B. 434
Shri Vinoba at Shiyarampalli — XII D. M. 229
The Charkha Jayanti Narandas Gandhi 173

Controls

A Cultivator's Plaint against Controls A Cultivator 61
Controls and Black-Markets K. G. Mashruwala 108
Controls and Honest Life Shrikrishnadas Jaju 252
Controls and Rationing K. G. Mashruwala 60
Food Controls Reconsidered S. N. Agarwal 76
History of Vanaspati Price Control "Salesman" 15
On Way to Shivarampalli — XIII D. M. 150

Economics

Damodar Valley Corporation S. Datta 231
Economic Equality Sitaram 93
Economic Management of Conferences M. S. 158
Effects of Coco-Cola on Indian Industry Octopus 30
Exports of Bones — I-II K. G. Mashruwala 337, 346
"Guess Work" Planning S. N. Agarwal 2
Income and Property K. G. Mashruwala 92
Is This Not Sheer Waste? M. 40
Manufacture of Motor Vehicles in India N. Mahalingam 398
More about Bone-Export Satish Chandra Das Gupta 373
Prohibition and Equality M. P. Desai 87
Salaries in New China Suresh Ramabhai 379
Tanners and Cobblers K. G. Mashruwala 388
The Economics of Prohibition M. P. Desai 58
The Handloom Problem N. Ramaswami 198
Towards Boycott Dhirendra Mazumdar 347
Village Economics Vinoba 369

Education

Administrative Services *v.* University Degrees M. P. Desai 40
Adult Education in Nai Talim Marjorie Sykes 341
A.I.V.I.A. Training Courses in Maganwadi G. Ramachandran 79
An Experiment in Basic Education Gurbachan Singh Bedi 363
Basic Education M. P. Desai 122
"God, Give Us Education" K. G. M. 341
Hindustani Talimi Sangh M. S. 58
Literacy *vs.* Knowledge Norman Cousins 247
Medium of Instruction for Higher Education M. P. Desai 213
Need for Re-orientation of Education B. G. Kher 253
Produce Tree-Cotton in Schools Jaju 19
Removal of English M. P. Desai 244
Revival of Linguistic Controversies K. G. Mashruwala 293
Saurashtra Rural University Committee Nanabhai Bhatt, Manubhai Pancholi & Others 423
Substitute for English M. P. Desai 250
The Seige of English M. P. Desai 15
The Seventh All India Basic Education Conference Marjorie Sykes 32
"Working to Learn" E. W. Aryanayakam 269
Wrong Approach K. G. Mashruwala 148

Elections

Abuse of Gandhiji's Pictures K. G. M. 364
An Explanation K. G. Mashruwala 361
But Where Are the Kisans and Mazdoors? Mira 268
"Choosing Your Legislators" K. G. M. 330
Constructive Workers and Elections K. G. Mashruwala 204
Corruption and Elections Anon. 251
Election Organization K. G. M. 432
Elections with Amity D. M. 233
Guidance to Constructive Workers and Voters Anon. 205
Not So Easy Mira 314
Question-Box K. G. Mashruwala 361
Secrecy in Balloting K. G. Mashruwala 412
Shri Vinoba at Shivarampalli — VI, XII D. M. 182, 229
The Congress Manifesto — I-II K. G. Mashruwala 188, 196
To Voters Desh Raj 364
To Waverers Shri Ram Sharma 330
Whom to Elect? R. R. Keithahn 308

First Five Year Plan

A Critique of the Five Year Plan S. N. Agarwal 225
Criticism of the Planning Commission Vinoba 284
Planning for India — I-II K. G. Mashruwala 289, 302
Remarks on the First Five Year Plan — I-II J. C. Kumarappa 201, 209

Food and Agriculture

A Costly Barter? Vitthaldas Bodani 132
Against Collective Farming K. G. Mashruwala 17
Agricultural Machines and Fertilizers M. Smilanski 400
A Scheme for Increasing Food Production S. N. Agarwal 18
Basic Realities Dr. P. K. Sen 342
Bleached Flour Sorabji R. Mistri 355
Crops out of the Desert V. G. D. 118
"Destroy More Food" Campaign Mira 219
Earthworms in America V. G. D. 111
Eat to Live A. V. Barve 98
Efforts to Combat Monkey Nuisance K. G. Mashruwala 165
Export of Bones — I-II 337, 346
Food and Culture M. P. Desai 64
Food Collection K. G. M. 81
Food Deficiency K. G. Mashruwala 84
Food Self-Sufficiency: A Basic Policy? Vinoba 4
Gas and Manure Cow-Dung S. B. Mandagere 206
Grow Fodder K. G. M. 355
Humiliating and Disastrous Policies V. G. D. 240
Land and Population K. G. Mashruwala 324
Land — Its Use J. C. Kumarappa 181
Mango Kernel K. G. M. 92
Misconceived Research Work K. G. Mashruwala 97
Misgivings Confirmed — I-II Mira 45, 71
More about Bone-Export Satish Chandra Das Gupta 373
Night-Soil Manure Radhakrishna 395
On Way to Shivarampalli — XV D. M. 173
Our Food Problem K. S. Venkataramani 121
Pannai Ashram J. C. Kumarappa 127
Remission of Rent K. G. Mashruwala 420
Seven Prizes Anon. 130
Soya-Milk and Curds — I-II Krishna Chandra 422, 427
Supplementary Gandhi Week A. V. Barve 344
Technological Research Institutes K. G. Mashruwala 84
The Uses of Mango Kernel K. G. Mashruwala 128
U. S. Children's Gift to India Anon. 248
Vegetable Milks and Related Products M. M. Moorjani, D. S. Bhatia & V. Subramanian 385
Wanted a Botanical Garden at Jodhpur V. G. D. 118
Wanted a New Husbandry V. G. D. 367
Where is our Emory Alvord? Liston Pope & Clarence Hall 140
Wrong Advice K. G. M. 309

Foreign Affairs

Alcohol Affects Judgment of Drivers Anon. 387
Ce'sar Bugany France K. G. Mashruwala 96
Cremation Facilities for Trinidad Hindus K. G. M. 184
'Each Day Fresh Houses are Going Up' V. G. D. 1
Earthworms in America V. G. D. 111

From China J. C. Kumarappa 338
Genocide in Korea V. G. D. 359
Higher Values Anon. 119
International Conference of Children Eugenie Cotton 157
Lessons from Cyprus V. G. D. 118
Manilal Gandhi's Fast and Our Duty K. G. Mashruwala 49
Marvellous Co-operation to Save a Life Alistair Cooke 64
Mind of the South African Government Anon. 96
Salaries in New China Suresh Ramabhai 379
Seed-Supply K. G. M. 65
Shri B. Narasimha Rao K. G. M. 400
Shri Kumarappa in China G. Ramachandran 370
Shri Manilal Gandhi's Civil Disobedience K. G. Mashruwala 293
Shri Manilal Gandhi's Statement Manilal Gandhi 50
The Devil at Play Mira 130
U. S. Children's Gift to India Anon. 248
Wanted a Botanical Garden at Jodhpur V. G. D. 118
Where Is Our Emory Alvord? Liston Pope & Clarence Hall 140

Gandhi Memorial

Abuse of Gandhiji's Pictures K. G. M. 364
A Day Book of Thoughts from Mahatma Gandhi K. G. M. 43
A Fantastic Scheme K. G. Mashruwala 22
A Pilgrim in Quest of Truth Jawaharlal Nehru 258
Bapu on Land Distribution Anon. 370
Calumny Answered Dr. B. C. Roy, Dr. M. D. D. Gilder, Dr. Sushila Nayar & Pyarelal 273
Copyright in Gandhiji's Writings Jivanji Desai 25
Exercise of Soul-force M. K. Gandhi 265
Gandhiji and Cow-Slaughter K. G. Mashruwala 220
Gandhiji's Choice of an Inspiring Name B. Jagannath Das 14
Gandhiji's Fast A. E. Kately 288
Gandhi Smarak Nidhi Lakshmidas Purushottam 80
Gandhism as I Understand It Lin Yutang 259
General Candy's Testimony Anon. 273
His All-embracing Love K. G. Mirchandani 401
Kasturba and Mahatma Gandhi Trusts G. V. Mavalankar 77
Legislation before Education Gandhiji 161
"Lord of Humility" M. K. Gandhi 257
Lord Samuel on Gandhiji Lord Samuel 1
Mahadev Desai and Bapu Anon. 201
Mahatma Rabindranath Tagore 401
Mahatma Gandhi and Prohibition Anon. 241
Mr Churchill and Gandhiji's Fast S. N. 274
Mr Churchill's Reply 373
Selected Letters (Second Series) — XXV-XXXVI Gandhiji 95, 163
Supplementary Gandhi Week A. V. Barve 344
The Charkha Week K. G. Mashruwala 264
The Cow in Mysore Gandhiji 221
30th January Dhirendra Mazumdar 389
To the Memory of Mahatma Gandhi Prof. Bernard Baum 411
Two Great Days K. G. Mashruwala 404

Go-Seva

Fast against Cow-Slaughter K. G. Mashruwala 57
Gandhiji and Cow-Slaughter K. G. Mashruwala 220
Go-Seva in Madhya Bharat Radhakrishna Bajaj 294
The Cow in Mysore Gandhiji 221
Voluntary Beef-abstention T. Vijayaraghavacharya 81

Health

Alcohol and Fatigue C. Rajagopalachari 94
Coca-Cola Invades India Octopus 23
Coca-Cola Mad K. G. Mashruwala 47
Dangerous D. D. T. Anon. 358
Eat To Live A. V. Barve 93
Effects of Alcohol V. G. D. 243
Lessons from Cyprus V. G. D. 118
Neera Radhakrishna Rao 270
Precautions against Catching Colds Anon. 391
Prompt Action Necessary K. G. M. 9
Repeated Vaccination and Inoculation Sorabji R. Mistri 127
'Save the Children' Anon. 203
The Case against B. C. G. V. G. D. 195
Wrong Advice K. G. M. 309

Khadi

Charkha — A Message for the World K. G. Mashruwala 297
Co-ordination of Handicrafts and Mechanized Industries — I-IV 20, 28, 36, 44
Dole Gets a Start Shrikrishnadas Jaju 52
First Things First Vithaldas Bodani 278
Handloom Problem — I-II H. K. Mahtab & Shrikrishnadas Jaju 105, 113
Help with Discretion K. G. Mashruwala 108
Katai Mandals N. R. Sowani 107
On Way to Shivarampalli — IV, VI-IX, XIV, XVI 55, 74, 82, 91, 103, 166, 177
Produce Tree-Cotton in Schools Jaju 19
Self-Sufficiency and Commercial Khadi Dhirendra Mazumdar 272
Shri Vinoba at Shivarampalli — I, VI, VIII D. M. 141, 182, 193
Some Charkha Sangh Decisions Anon. 176
The Charkha Jayanti Narandas Gandhi 173
The Charkha Week K. G. Mashruwala 264
The Duty of the State towards Khadi — I-III Satish Chandra Das Gupta 134, 155
The Madras Government and the A. I. S. A. Krishnadas Gandhi, 6, 10
The Place of Khadi Now Vinoba 172
Towards Boycott Dhirendra Mazumdar 347
Yarn for Handlooms N. S. Sivasubramaniam 43

Labour

Advancement of Labourers Vinoba 393
Charkha — A Message for the World K. G. Mashruwala 297
Labour's Sanction for Peace R. J. Soman 322
"Make Me Thy Servant, My Lord" Shrikrishnadas Jaju 333
Peace, Unity and Equality through Labour Horace Alexander 102
The Wage System Peter Kropotkin 318

Land Problem

An Appeal to U. P. Zamindars Baba Raghavdas 426
Appeal to Madhya Pradesh Vinoba 292
Bapu on Land Distribution Anon. 370
Bhave's Significant Method Anon. 402
Bhoomi Dan Yajna Vinoba 349
Dange-Vinoba Correspondence 210
Five Crore Acres K. G. Mashruwala 296
From Vinoba's Walking Tour D. M. 271
Hindi Writers' Appeal Maithili Sharan & Others 376
In the Aligarh University D. M. 429
Land and Population K. G. Mashruwala 324
Land Donation Figures L. B. 424
Land-Gifts Mission D. M. 177
Land — Its Use J. C. Kumarappa 181
Make Vinoba's Pilgrimage A Success J. B. Kripalani 305
More Gifts of Land D. M. 230
My Movement Vinoba 424
Progress of the Land-Gifts-Mission in Telangana Keshav Rao 327
Sacrificial Offering of Land — I-II Vinoba 249, 260
Sarva Seva-Sangh Proceedings Anon. 347
Shri Vinoba's Lalitpur Speech D. M. 321
Shri Vinoba's Northern Tour — II-XIII D. M. 282, 305, 313, 330, 342, 356, 368, 374, 377, 399, 402, 438
Shri Vinoba's Northern Tour K. G. Mashruwala 248
Shri Vinoba's Telangana Tour — I-XV D. M. 266, 276, 290, 312, 318, 323, 335, 351, 357, 366, 374, 384, 390, 414
'The Broken Harmony' V. G. D. 398

Shri Vinoba at Shivarampalli — VI D. M. 182
The Call of the Age Vinoba 300
The Call of the New Age Dhirendra Mazumdar 393
The Land Gifts Mission Ramakrishna Dhoot 237
The Land Problem of Hyderabad K. G. Mashruwala 228
The Message of "Give" K. 425
The Pilgrim's Progress D. M. 294
The Spiritual Basis of Bhoodan Yajna Vinoba 407
The Third Way Kaka Kalelkar 292
Village Problems of Tamilnad S. Jagannathan 343
Vinobaji in Delhi K. G. Mashruwala 329
Vinobaji's Advice to Villagers L. B. 411
Vinoba's Telangana Tour K. G. M. 129
Vinoba's Tour K. G. M. 117

Language

A Correction K. G. M. 195
A Futile Controversy Vinoba 29
A. I. R. Language Policy M. 61
Hindi *vs.* Regional Languages Anon. 224
Indian Nomenclature K. G. M. 309
India's Language Policy Rajendraprasad 236
Linguistic Separation K. G. Mashruwala 160
Medium of Instruction for Higher Education M. P. Desai 213
Our National Language B. G. Kher 169
Quarrelsome Words K. G. Mashruwala 365
Removal of English M. P. Desai 244
Revival of Linguistic Controversies K. G. Mashruwala 293
'Shri' or 'Sri' K. G. Mashruwala 219
Slavery to English Manubehn Gandhi 419
Substitute for English M. P. Desai 250
The Hindi of the Constitution M. P. Desai 138
The Hindi of the Constitution Ghanshyam Sinha Gupta 255
The Siege of English M. P. Desai 15
What is "Secular"? K. G. Mashruwala 158

Miscellaneous

Addendum Shankarrao Deo 386
Assam Earthquake Relief Fund 34, 44
Corrections K. G. M. 403
Himalayan Lessons — III-VII Mira 114, 147, 164, 183, 190
Hindi Doosari Examination Giriraj Kishore 326
Hindi Examination for Government Servants Giriraj Kishore 283
Hindi-Hindustani Examinations Giriraj Kishore 418
Hindi, Marathi and Gujarati Short-hand Classes Anon. 111
"Hindi Vinit" Examination Giriraj Kishore 243
Hindustani Talimi Sangh E. W. Aryanayakam 35
Index 1950-51 152(A)
Index 1951-52 (440-A)
Mahilashram, Wardha Anon. 104
Navajivan Publications at Poona J. D. Desai 204
Personal — Vinobaji K. G. M. 405
Sarva Seva Sangh Anon. 192
Sarva Seva Sangh Vallabhswami 424
Sarva Seva Sangh Resolutions Anon. 115
Sarva Seva Sangh: Three Years' Training Shankarrao Deo 383
Sarvodaya Conference Shivarampalli Vallabhswami, Sitaram & Gopabandhu Chaudhari 27
Thakkar Bapa Memorial Fund, Delhi D. Rangaiya 424
Thanks Albert Reinbold 11
The Offering of Yarn-Hanks in Sarvodaya Melas Vinoba 404
Vinoba's Return Home K. G. M. 165

Non-violence

Ahimsa Week W. S. Fernando 46
Appreciation Anon. 211
Cruelty to Animals J. N. Mankar 154
Non-violence of the Brave Santbal 22
Shri Vinoba at Shivarampalli — IX D. M. 207
This Picture and That Anon. 246

Obituaries

A Danish Daughter of India R. Vinayakam 26
A Fighter of Steadfast Resolve Anon. 71
Ba K. G. Mashruwala 433
Chief Justice Kania K. G. M. 325
"Dadiji" Bajaj K. G. M. 117
Darbar Gopaldas Desai K. G. Mashruwala 353
Gandhiji's Choice of an Inspiring Name B. Jagannath Das 14
Mathuradas Trikamji K. G. Mashruwala 180
Prime Minister Liaqat Ali Khan K. G. M. 297
Rabindranath Tagore R. Chidambaresh 73
Shri Balasaheb Pant K. G. M. 65
Shri Shivananda's Murder K. G. M. 81
Shri Shoorji Vallabhdas K. G. M. 329
Thakkar Bapa's Care of Public Trust Jagadishprasad 47
The Dum Dum Tragedy K. G. M. 341
The Sardar's First Death Anniversary K. G. Mashruwala 353

Prohibition

Alcohol Affects Judgment of Drivers Anon. 387
Alcohol and Fatigue C. Rajagopalachari 94
Anti-Prohibitionists' Fallacies V. G. D. 13
Drink for the Country? K. G. M. 45
Drink-Talim V. S. Narayana Rao 338
Effects of Alcohol V. G. D. 243
"Excise Revenue (Promotion) Committee"? M. P. Desai 21
For Truth's Sake Suresh Ramabhai 87
Future of Prohibition in Bombay K. G. Mashruwala 303
Garbage-heap Learning Vinoba 46
Legislation before Education Gandhiji 161
Mahatma Gandhi and Prohibition Anon. 24[illegible]
Man or Monkey Anon. 150
On Prohibition G. M. Nandurkar 310
Prohibition — A Blessing Anon. 298
Prohibition and Equality M. P. Desai 87
Prohibition and Secret Markets of Liquor M. P. Desai 51
Prohibition — A Real Blessing P. L. Majmudar 133
Prohibition — A Real Blessing C. Ponnan 263
Prohibition Ever Successful M. P. Desai 25
Prohibition in Orissa Lakshminarayan Sahu 325
Prohibition in Tribal Areas Vasant Nargolkar 234
The Challenge of the Situation M. P. Desai 227
The Economics of Prohibition M. P. Desai 58
The Income from Drink M. P. Desai 48

Religion & Ethics

Adjuncts of Prayers K. G. Mashruwala 428
Common Prayers K. G. Mashruwala 396
Cremation Facilities for Trinidad Hindus K. G. M. 184
Equal Respect for All Religions Rajendraprasad 101
Exercise of Soul-force M. K. Gandhi 265
Forms of the One Lord Vinoba 276
Hindi Isha-Upanishad Anon. 410
Indian Islam D. M. 429
If Rudyard Kipling 257
Question Box K. G. Mashruwala 409
Selected Letters (Second Series) — XXV-XXXVI Gandhiji 95, 163
Shri Vinoba at Shivarampalli — III, VII, X, XI, XIII Vinoba 145, 186, 215, 222, 234
Sthitaprajna Recitation Anon. 406
Somnath Temple K. M. Munshi 79
The Spiritual Basis of Bhoodan Yajna Vinoba 407
Thou Didst Resist Anon. 405
What is a Secular Government? K. G. Mashruwala 100
What is "Secular"? K. G. Mashruwala 158

Sarvodaya

A Powerful World Vinoba 86
Bright Lights of Shivarampalli Hari Krishna Mohani 66
Communism & Sarvodaya Shankarrao Deo 304
Five-fold Programme K. G. Mashruwala 68
Heralding the Revolution Vinoba 5
In Regard to Communism K. G. Mashruwala 212
On Way to Shivarampalli — I-XVI D. D. & D. M. 31, 39, 41, 55, 62, 74, 82, 91, 103, 119, 125, 130, 150, 166, 173, 177

Planning for India — I-II
K. G. Mashruwala 289, 302
Samyayoga — Practice of Equality Vinoba 109
Sarva Seva Sangh Proceedings Anon. 3
Sarvodaya Conference 1952
Vallabhswami 362
Sarvodaya Paksha Sammelan
Shankarrao Deo 392
Sarvodaya Sammelan
Vallabhswami 426
Sarvodaya Subjects
K. G. Mashruwala 33
Sarvodaya Yatras
Dhirendra Mazumdar 360, 397
Shivarampalli Account
Suresh Ramabhai 69
Shri Vinoba at Shivarampalli —
I-II, XIII D. M. 141, 145, 153, 169, 182, 186, 193, 207, 215, 222, 229, 234
The Call of the Age Vinoba 300
The Message of Sarvodaya Samaj Vinoba 81
Vinoba Marching Towards Economic Freedom
S. Jagannathan 435

Social

A Camp for Ashram Life
Vallabhswami 75
Advertisements U. 157
A Good Suggestion Anon. 248
A Heroic Clerk Anon. 387
A Hopeful Sign
K. G. Mashruwala 137
A Message to the Middle Class
Dhirendra Mazumdar 356
A Message to the Physically Handicapped Hellen Keller 119
Anandibai Karve K. G. M. 75
A New Step in Anti-Leprosy Service J. 327
Appeal
Purushottamdas Tandon & Others 72
Appeal to the People, Government Officers, and Workers of Gujarat,
Santbal 323
Bribery K. G. Mashruwala 225
Celebration of Holidays
H. M. V. 268
Checking Corruption
Shrikrishnadas Jaju 281
'Construction Week'
K. G. Mashruwala 70
Controls and Black-Markets
K. G. Mashruwala 108
Controls and Honest Life
Shrikrishnadas Jaju 252
Corruption to Escape Penalty
K. G. Mashruwala 267
Crossword & Race U. 82
Cruelty to Animals
J. N. Mankar 154
Dishonesty at High Level
S. N. Agarwal 110
Earthquake-ruined Adivasis
D. Rangaiya 23
Emerson on Dishonest Ways of Trade Anon. 82
Famine Conditions in Bihar
Puratan Buch 191
Five-fold Programme
K. G. Mashruwala 68
Food and Culture M. P. Desai 64
God, Give Us Education
K. G. M. 341
Hell in the Midst of Heaven
Mira 3
Higher Values Anon. 119
Hindu Code Bill
K. G. Mashruwala 372
Honest Life Movement in Wardha Rishabhdas Ranka 200
International Conference of Children Eugeine Cotton 157
Kasturba Gram-Sevika Vidyalaya, Indore Anon. 391
Land and Population
K. G. Mashruwala 324
Marvellous Co-operation to Save a Life Alistaire Cooke 64
Mathuradas's Last Wish
Dr. Jivraj Mehta 218
Our Bhangi Brother R. C. 379
Planned Immorality
Satish Chandra Das Gupta 261
Prohibition in Tribal Areas
Vasant Nargolkar 234
Protection of Women
M. P. T. Acharya 165
Public Urinals and Water Closets K. G. M. 309
Remission of Rent
K. G. Mashruwala 420
Respect for Womanhood
K. G. Mashruwala 136
Shri Vinoba at Shivarampalli —
IX, XI D. M. 207, 222
Shuddha Vyavahara Andolan
K. G. Mashruwala 37
Social Evils
K. G. Mashruwala 372
Social Work among Hill Tribes of Himachal Pradesh
Swami Anand 197
Some Charges
K. G. Mashruwala 316
Thakkar Bapa Memorial Appeal
K. G. Mashruwala 89
Thakkar Bapa Memorial Fund — An Appeal
Purushottamdas Tandon & Others 90
Thakkar Bapa's Anniversary
K. G. Mashruwala 397
The Case Against B. C. G.
V. G. D. 195
The Cause of Corruption and the Remedy Michael Fuss 418
The Fivefold Programme & Shri Jawaharlal Nehru
K. G. M. 93
The Wage System
Peter Kropotkin 318
The Waste of Somnath K. G. M. 129
To Public Servants and Traders K. G. Mashruwala 185
To The Middle Classes
C. Rajagopalachari 421
Training in Leprosy Work
Anon. 214, 230
Tribal Welfare in Madhya Pradesh — I 'Mahitgar' 335
Tribal Welfare in Madhya Pradesh — II 'Loksevak' 339
Unholy Holi
K. G. Mashruwala 99
Voluntary Beef-Abstention
T. Vijayaraghavacharya 81
"Vyavahara Shuddhi Mandal"
Kedarnath 101
Whither Students? M. P. Desai 65

Transport & Communications

Augean Stables on Railways
V. G. D. 309
Indian Nomenclature K. G. M. 309
Manufacture of Motor Vehicles in India N. Mahalingam 398

Untouchability

A Good Suggestion Anon. 248
Maltreatment of Harijans
K. G. Mashruwala 117
Musahar Sammelan V. H. 56

Vanaspati

History of Vanaspati Price Control "Salesman" 15
The Price of Ghee
K. G. Mashruwala 112
The Vanaspati Menace
Pannalal Javeri 111

Village Industries and Village Uplift

A.I.V.I.A. Training Courses in Maganwadi
G. Ramachandran 79
An Attempt towards Samagra Gram Seva at Pedarapur
P. Ramakrishnaiah 320
Blow to Jute Cottage Industry
Satish Chandra Das Gupta 192
Co-ordination of Handicrafts and Mechanized Industries —
I-IV K. G. Mashruwala 20, 28, 36, 44
Dole Gets a Start
Shrikrishnadas Jaju 52
Handloom Problem — I-II
H. K. Mahtab, & Shrikrishnadas Jaju 105, 113
On Way to Shivarampalli —
I-XVI D. D. & D. M. 31, 39, 41, 55, 62, 74, 82, 91, 103, 119, 125, 130, 150, 166, 173, 177
Palm Gur Industry
L. Vaidyanathan 187
Pannai Ashram Notes — I-IV
R. R. 230, 255, 311, 315
Plight of Weavers in Madras
Suresh Ramabhai 53
Saurashtra Rural University Committee Nanabhai Bhatt, Manubhai Pancholi & Others 423
Shri Vinoba at Shivarampalli —
I-V Vinoba 141, 169
Tanners and Cobblers
K. G. Mashruwala 388
The Next Move
J. C. Kumarappa 116
Village Economics Vinoba 369
Village Problems of Tamilnad
S. Jagannathan 343
Vinobaji's Advice to Villagers
L. B. 411
Yarn for Handloom
N. S. Sivasubramaniam 43

War & Peace

Anti-War Force
Satish Chandra Das Gupta 344
Ce'sar Bugany — France
K. G. Mashruwala 96
Conscientious Objection to War M. S. 94
General MacArthur on the Abolition of War Anon. 271
Genocide in Korea V. G. D. 359
Message from the Kodaikanal International Peace Seminar
Ralph R. Keithahn 123
"Peace On Earth & Goodwill Among Men"
N. R. Balakrishnan 139
Peace, Unity and Equality through Labour
Horace Alexander 102
Shri B. Narasimha Rao
K. G. M. 400
The Devil at Play Mira 130
"The Task Of Peace-Making"
H. 406
Two Cities in One Anon. 101
What War Means: Lessons in Military Training Anon. 166